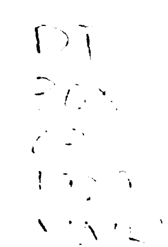
THE BARBARY VOYAGE OF 1638

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM
THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
OF
SIR GEORGE CARTERET

IN THE POSSESSION OF
BOIES PENROSE

PHILADELPHIA
1929





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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All the Illustrations are from the Penrose Library



FOREWORD

ALGERNON PERCY, the tenth Earl of Northumberland, seems to have inherited much of his remarkable father's love of navigation and discovery, and as a result he made many additions of great interest to the Percy Library, albeit none of such outstanding importance as some of the treasures which came into the hands of the "Wizard Earl."

Algernon Percy (1602–1668), called by Clarendon "the proudest man alive," was successively admiral of the fleet, 1636, and lord high admiral, 1638. It is therefore quite certain that Carteret sent him this MS. as the official report of the Expedition to Barbary. For two and a half centuries it remained in the possession of his descendants, until it was sold, along with certain other of the books from Petworth, in April, 1928.

As an early travel journal of an intimate nature, the MS. is of great interest, while the light which it throws on seventeenth century Morocco may perhaps have an historic value. Indeed, it gives a very vivid account of the chaotic conditions of North Africa at the period. This period is of note because of the number of powerful forces exerting themselves in Morocco simultaneously. First of all, the so-called Sâadi Period—that of stagnation—was at its height. Although the king, Mahommed III, possessed the qualities of a good ruler, the condition of



the country was too much that of anarchy to make his efforts successful. Whatever culture Morocco may have had in the tenth or eleventh centuries had now been forgotten, and the inhabitants were degenerating into barbarians. The state of the monarchy was well appreciated when Carteret said that the king laid claim to far more territory than he actually ruled, and that within his claim were in reality four nations. Add to this the rise of the Sallee Rovers, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the presence of much of the scum of Europe (witness Carteret's repeated references to renegades), and the result is not one to produce harmony and tranquillity. During this period Sallee was virtually independent, and had practically no other interest than piracy. In these prosaic days we cannot but admit that Sallee was picturesque, but 300 years ago she was decidedly unpleasant. No doubt the Spanish Moors were largely responsible, for although not a sea-faring people, yet they bore such hatred for Christians (as well they might) that they turned to piracy as a just and vindictive measure.

In addition to Sallee, the various "saints" were in constant rebellion, since they especially resented the king's intercourse with Europe; while more powerful than they, the Filali party were fast rising to power. Another generation and the Filali Ismail was ruling Morocco with a rod of iron. So cruel was Ismail that Nero, Caligula, and Heliogabalus are said to have been the models of gentleness in comparison.



The previous year, 1637, a punitive expedition of 8 vessels had gone to Barbary,* under the command of Admiral William Rainborow (d. 1648), and is of note since it was the only successful naval expedition of Charles's reign. Carteret commanded the Antilope of 36 guns, ranking as vice-admiral. On March 4th the fleet left the Downs, reaching Sallee in three weeks. Dunton thus describes the fleet's arrival: "It was Gods great mercy that wee did come into the Rode so soone as we did, for they had made ready all their ships to goe for the Coast of England, as it was credibly reported of some Christians that were slaves ashore that did steale out of the Towne, and came swimming aboord the Leopard, . . . and they told our Generall, that the Governour of New Sally sent for all the Captaine Runnagadoes, and commanded all the Captaines of New Sally that they should goe for the Coast of England, so neare the shore with their shippes, and hoyst out all their boats, and goe ashore and fetch the men women and children out of their beds, had not, God in his great mercy prevented them, but wee comming so suddenly into the Rode upon them before they knew of any shippes that our gracious King had at Sea, or any such intent to send a Fleete of shippes upon the Coast of Barbary, and they were growne to such a height of pride, that some English Merchants and men ashore told the Governor of new Sally, that they were the King of

* See Dunton's A True Journall of the Sally Fleet, London, 1637. S. T. C. 7357.

England's ships, he said, what care I for the K. of Englands shippes, or all the Christian Kings in the world, am not I King of Sally: but wee made him sing another song in a short time after, for we went to worke with him another way that he dreamed not of."

Rainborow found that the New Town was at war against the Old, and that Old Sallee was commanded by Saint El 'Ayashi (Siddy Hamet Allilash), who, for once in his life, was willing to be friendly to Christians, that they might fight his battles for him.

Accordingly he was not long in joining forces with the fleet and laying siege to New Sallee. To this end he burned a broad tract of country around the New Town, to prevent any provender from growing and to cut off the king's forces, which he feared.

Meanwhile the English fleet was active. On March 27th a large pirate ship was sunk with great loss and the castle was heavily bombarded. During the next few weeks every hostile vessel was attacked, although, sad to relate, all got away, due to their remarkable sailing powers.

On April 20th a great battle took place between Old and New Sallee, but as the gunnery was very bad, Rainborow sent some English gunners to the Old Town the next day. These men did fearful execution among the crowded defenders of New Sallee, battering the walls beyond repair. At the same time the fleet sailed close to the New Town, and destroyed almost every vessel in the port.



On April 27th two great caravels were badly beaten by the English. On May 5th one of the pirates' largest ships was burned, and a fortnight later four more of their ships were shot to pieces.

During June the English sunk more ships, and bombarded the castle so that it was almost wholly destroyed, to such an extent that when Blake, the English agent, and the king's ambassador came bringing letters from the king on July 27, New Sallee was ready for any terms.

On July 28 Blake and the ambassador went to New Sallee and obtained the release of 339 slaves, 11 of whom were women. These included all the English slaves then in Sallee, with a few Dutch and Spaniards. The rebels also agreed to receive their old governor, to expel all pirates, and never to harm an English subject again.

Rainborow left on August 21st and after staying a month at Safi, reached England, with the Moorish ambassador, on Oct. 6th.

Alcayde Jaurar Ben Abdella, the ambassador, came to England to renew the "ancient amities between the two crowns," and brought horses and hawks as presents from his master to Charles I. He is well described in a contemporary pamphlet*: "The Ambassador is by birth a Portugall, a Gentleman borne in a Towne called Mondego, who was taken Captive in his Child-hood at the age of

* The Arrivall and Intertainements of the Embassador, etc. London, 1637. S. T. C. 18165.

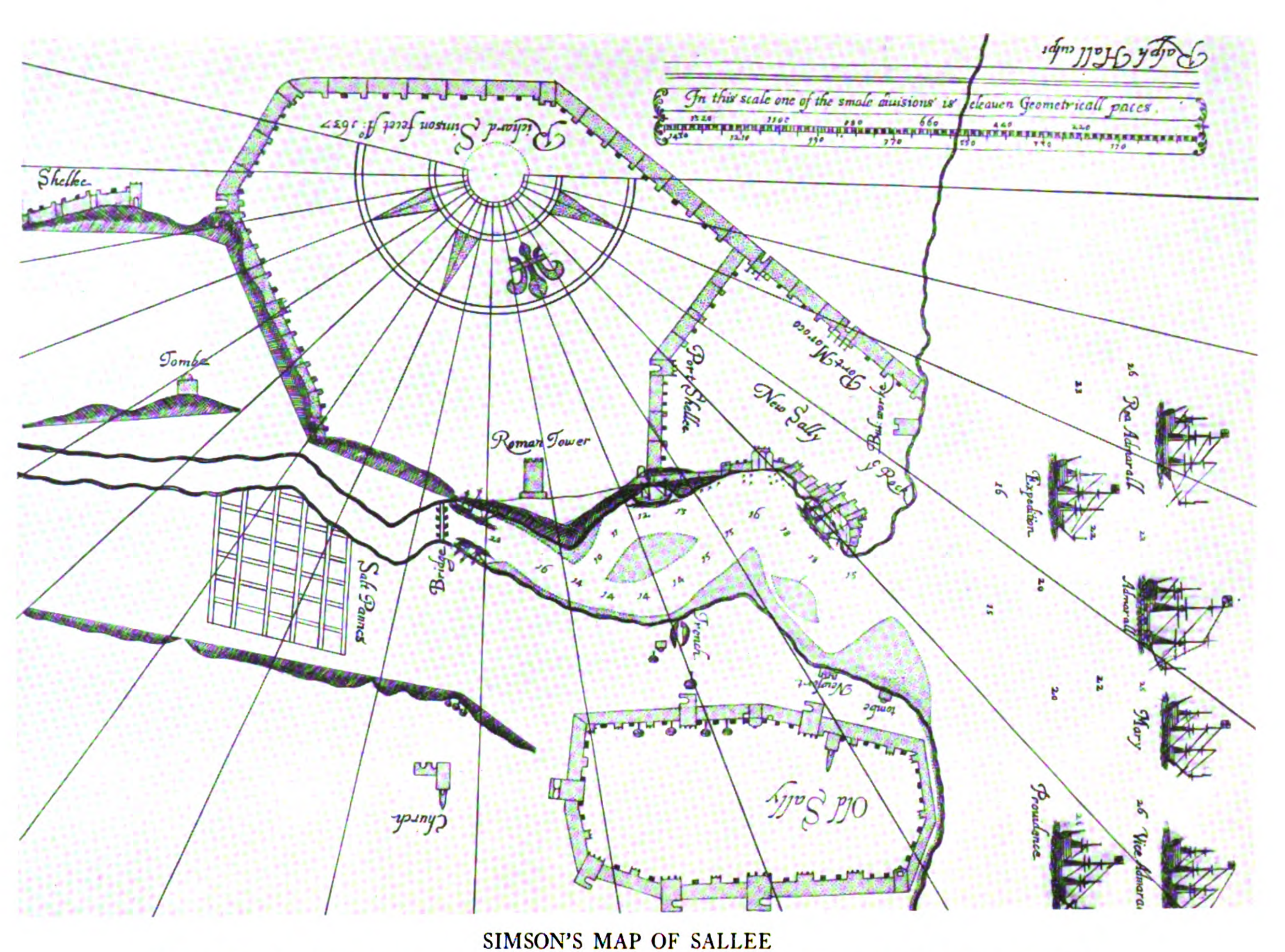
almost eight yeares; he was (as the misery and fortune of Captives is) bought and sold, and by command (as the manner of those barbarous Nations is) hee [was] distesticled, or Eunuch'd, and as he grew in yeares hee by his acceptable services, was daily more and more in favour with the Emperor of Morocco, insomuch, that his Majesty was pleased to take him into his especiall grace, making him his chiefest favorite, and trusty councellor of State, dignifi'd him with the high stile or title of Alkaid or Lord."

On his way up to London the Alcayde was taken ill and was forced to spend some days at Gravesend; but on October 19th he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the City, and was lodged in state at Sir Martin Lumley's house in Wood Street, Cheapside.

On November 5th he had an audience with Charles I, which took place amid even more ceremony than his reception by the citizens. A long procession, superbly mounted and turned out, led him from Wood Street, through Temple Bar, to Whitehall, where "the Resplendency of the Royall Maiesties, the luster of the Nobility, and the variety of Eye-dazelling Beauties made him wonder beyond Admiration."

Throughout the winter he continued to reside in Wood Street, presumably being engaged in diplomatic matters between his country and England; it was not until May, 1638, that he sailed with Carteret, as described hereafter in the Journal.





SIMSON'S MAP OF SALLEE

FROM DUNTON'S A TRUE JOURNALL OF THE SALLY FLEET, LONDON, 1637 (REDUCED FROM 16¼ X 12¼ INCHES)

A JOURNALL

keepte by me George Carteret, in his Maties. Shipp the Convertive, beinge bound for the Coast of Barbary in Companie wth. his Maties. pinace the Expedecon Capt. Robert Slingsbie[1] Capt. in her, began in Aprill, 1638.

APRILL the 20 I come aboard of his Matie shipp the Convertive, then Rideinge in Tilbury hope. The nexte day at 4 in the Morninge the winde at North, I did sett sayle, leaveinge the Expedeton there, to take in the rest of her provisions, wch was not come downe from London. This night I came to an Anchor at the Boye of the red sand.

The 22 about 10th in the Morninge the winde at N:W: I went over the flatts, and that Night I come to an Anchor off of the North Forland, the tide beinge spent. The nexte day about ten in the morneinge, I came to an Anchor in the Down's, and the same day at 4 in the afternoone the winde shifteinge to the N:E: I waight and stood for Dover Roade; where about 12th of the Clocke that Night I tooke in the Contesse of Newporte to transport her to Deepe. The 24 day at eight of the Clocke at Night I come to an Anchor in Deepe roade, and at the same tyme I landed her. Early the Nexte Morneinge I did sett sayle, and stood for Portsmouth the winde beinge westerly; the 28 day I came to an Anchor in Stoak's Bay, and the Nexte day the Expedition arived there likewise.



May the 12th: the Moroco Embasador beinge come downe to Southampton, and beinge desirous to be taken in at South Yarmouth in the Isle of Whight, I went to the

ffrom the 26 day to ye 30 variable weather, and much winde and raine wth a great Sea.

June

The First of June at 5 in the Morneinge we had sight of Cap Artugall[2] wch wee toke to be the high Land of Monge beinge 7 or 8 Leagues further inland, then wee made accompt off, the error beinge occasioned by reason of the Great Sea, and the Aston often bearinge up to keepe Companie wth the rest of the Fleet.

Moneths	days	Windes	Course	Leag:s	Lat:	Long:
May	24	N E & E	S W & S	24	49–10	..
	25	E N E & S E	S S W	20	48–22	..
	26	S W	W N W	7	48–25	..
	27	Variable	S W	14	48–10	..
	28	S S W	W N W	6	48– 2	..
	29	Variable	S & E	15	47–40	..
	30	W & N	South	16	46–22	..
	31	W N W	S S W	25	45– 5	..
June						
	1	N N E	W S W	30	43–50	..
	2	N N E	South	50	41–18	..
	3	N E & N	South	22	40–6	..
	4	N W & W	South	24	39–..	..
	5	N W	South	20	38–..	..
	6	North	South	40	36–..	..
	7	North	S E & S	26	35–2	..
	8	North	S S E	30	33–25	..

Cowes the 12 wth both the Shipp's, and the 18 the Embasador Comeinge to Yearmouth, wee, alsoe went thether wth oure Shipp's. The Nexte day there arived 4 Shipps bound alonge wth us for Barbary, some of them weare leaden wth Marchants Goods, the others toke in a Coach and seven Horses, sent as a present from our Kinge to the King of Moroco.

The 21 the Embasadr came aboard, and the Winde at North East, I did sett sayle about IX in the Morneinge. The 23 at sixe in the Morneinge the Lizart boare from us North West seven leagues, wee steereinge South West, wth the winde at North East and a fresh Gale.

The 3d day wee came close to the Burleings,[3] this day wee saw 5 sayl's of Shipp's but wee could not speake wth them the Night approcheinge. The Nexte Day beinge Munday wee sawe the rocke of Lisbone, the winde Easterly. This day wee spoke wth a shipp of Dover wch came from St. Lucar,[4] bound for port to port.

The 6 day wee came under Cap St. Vincent, wheare wee mett a small Vessell, latly come from Cadiz, whoe told us, that the inhabitants of the town of Sally had revolted against the Castle, and that the Castle had receaved some relive out of Spaine, and likewise that the Kinge of Morocoe was expected there wth his Armie.[5] This News made the Embasadr desirous to touch at Sally, hoppeinge to meete the Kinge; this day wee stood away for the Barbary Coast, the winde at North; and the 8 day in the Morneinge wee fell with the land five leagues to the Northward

of Mamora.[6] That night I came to an Anchor off of Mamora, wheare I stayed untill the Nexte Morneinge, thinkinge some boate woud have come out, the Embasadr beinge desirous to heare some certaine News of the Kinge.

9 June 1638 The 9th about 5 in the afternoone I came to an Anchor in Sally roade,[7] the old Towne salluted us, and soe did the Castle and put out a white Flagge. The nexte day beinge Sunday, early in the Morneinge, they sent off unto us a boate from the Castle. Divers Shotts, both greate and small, weare made at them as they weare roweinge off, but not any tooke place. They brought Letters to the Embasador to acquainte him of the great Necessitie they weare in, for wont of victualls, beinge reduced to eate oxen hides sweetened wth a little suger, haveinge had noe other foode for many days together. Whereupon the Embasador desired me to spare them some Victualls wh should be repayde me at Saphie. To accomplish his desire, and not to disfornish my selfe too much, I barroweth of the Marchants Shipp's wch came out of England wth us 35 Rintalls of Biskett and some small quantitie of fish, which was sent in that night. The Next Day I spaired them 35 Rintalls of Biskett more, and some other provision, wch I did the willinglier, hearinge that the Castle was guarded by the Kinge's soldiers, and beseiged by the Town's men, whoe had revolted against the King some three months before. For it seems that after our Comeinge away the last yeare, the St. Side la Hache[8] did still continue with his Army before the Towne, pretendeinge that his quarell was

against Al Caserie, governor of the Towne, for divers approbrious Wordes he had spoken against his pretended Holynesse; and indeed Al Caserie seeinge himselfe rein-vested in his government tooke his oulde course, not carreinge for Kinge nor St., for he did not send those Hostages to the Kinge he promised him at his being at Moroco, nor would not receave any of the Kinge's people in the Castle wch the Kinge intended to have sent theither by Sea, onely did use his Name when he intended to execute some revange upon those he either hated or feared; As uppon the Imprisonment of Halogolan, a very rich Moore, an Inhabitant of Sally, whome he strangled in the Prison, and seized upon all his goods in the King's Name, but kept all for himself.

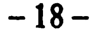
About the Middle of January last, there came into the Port of Sally a small Vessell from Tituon laden wth provision, the Marchant of her, beinge detayned by the Governor, was constrained to send away his Vessell, and there to remaine. One Day, the Governor beinge amongst workmen wch weare makinge of Tranch's, a fire lock layeinge by belonging to his Sonne, the aforesaid detayned felowe being present, and receaving some frowne or ill language from Al Caserie, tooke hold of the fire lock and shoott him wth a brase of Bulletts in the body and soe flede to the ennemy wch weare in Sight, whoe gave him a rewarde and sent him away into his Cuntry.

Al Caserie was carried into the towne, wheare he died the nexte day, confessinge to some of his friends that it

was never his intention to obay the Kinge, and therefore God had punished him; and comanded his Sonne not to follow his Example, but to be a faithfull servant to the Kinge. The Sonne was chosen Governor in his Father's roome, untill the King's pleasure was knowne, unto whome they imediatly sent to lett him knowe that if he was pleased, to send men to take possesion of the Castle, they would receave them; wch he presently did, sendeinge 450 men into two English Shipp's (wch weare then tradeinge at Saphie) under the Comand of one Alcayd Moratt, a Franch Renegade, but taken a Childe, and accompted one of the best Soldiers in all Barbary. Theise men weare receaved into the Castle, younge Al Caserie retaineinge still the Name of Governor, and Moratt Comander of all the Soldiers. The Sr whoe was still remaineinge before the towne and Castle, sent to congratulate their Arivall, and presented them with provision, giveinge Leave to the Arbies to carrie in dayly store of provisions to sell, pretendeinge that his worke was now done, in that the Kinge had posession of the place, and that he would repaire wth his Almahalle (or Campe) before Mamora to beseige it, but first he sent to desire the Kinge that those Inhabitants of the towne of Sally, wch weare flede unto him for Succor to avoyde the bloody hand of Al Caserie the Father, might be received into the Towne againe, and to enjoye theire Howses and Goods as before, wch was granted them.

ALCAYD MORATT at Sale

The Sr hee marched towardes Mamora, and sate downe about 3 milles from it, the others wch weare most



of them of y^e Casse of the Homachaires (whoe ever since their first arivall upon their Exile from Spaine, had allways the Comande of the Place, until Al Caserie beinge an Andelowse, by trechery made himselfe Master of all Castle in August, 1636) togeither wth some mallcontante Andelowses, wch weare fledde to the S^t uppon the same greevances, returned to their owne posessions, where uppon all mannor of provisions weare daily brought in by the L Arbies, Foure of their Shipp's (wch was all they had remaineinge that weare servicable) weare likewise makinge ready to fall on their old trade. In fine all theings seemed to be in peace and quieteness when those wch weare receaved into the Towne againe, the greatesse part beinge of the ould Inhabitants of that place, thought to have resumed the Power they had had before, by makinge themselves Masters of all, beinge helped by at the lest 1,000 L Arbies wch weare lurkinge in the Towne under pretence of bringinge victualls to sell. The Towne they tooke, but missed takinge of the Castle by the deligence of Alcayde Moratt. They presently intranched themselves about the Castle, not sufferinge (as much as in them laye) any provision to be carried into the Castle. They seised upon all the boats and shippeinge. Onely two small boats, those of the Castle gatt, the one they sent to Saphie to acquainte the King what had happened, and the otheir boate they kept in a little Harbor wch they have under ye Castle Wall. The Kinge he sent them a small Shipp laden wth provision; and alsoe the Duke of Medina sent them

one or two boats out of Spaine wth victualls, wch was all quickly spent, haveinge aboute 1200 mouth's and not above 550 fightinge men besides some five Christians. This is all the reliefe they did receave untill our Comeinge into the Roads, that I sent them the Victualls aforesaid. And alsoe two days after our arivall, there came in two small Vessells from Asamore (a towne belonginge to the Kinge of Moroco) leaden wth victualls and a Munition. The next day after them came in likwise a French Shipp hired at Saphie to bringe in 20 tunnes of Corne and to guarde the other two Vessells wh arived the day before from the Enmies boates, dureinge their unladeinge. They brought News that the Kinge intended to come out of Moroco wth his Army to relive that place, the Next day after a Feaste of theirs wch would be upon the 14th of July.

The Embasadr he began to be more desirous then before to hasten to Saphie, for feare the Kinge might departe from Moroco before he could arive there.

10 June 1638 The next day after my arivall in Sally roade a boat of the ould Towne of Sally came aboard unto me, wth a present of sheepe, hennes, and fruite, and a letter from the Governor to congratulate my well come into the roade, and likwise to knowe whether I had any Letters from the King to the Sr his Master. There came in that boate one Willowghbie an English Marchant, whoe had remained there since our departure wth his matie Shipp's the last yeare; by him all the passages aforesaid concerninge the Revolutions of the Govermt of New Sally was confirmed.

TZAFFIN

SAFI

FROM A MS. ATLAS BY B. GUÉRIN, OF NANCY, 1594–95 (REDUCED FROM 16½ X 11 INCHES)

He acquinted me that there was 4 English Captives in ould Sally, wch weare hidd out of the Waye when wee brought awaye the others the yeare before. In answere wch I wrott to the Governor of his Letter, I desire him that he would be pleased to send them off, and that in soe doeinge, it would confirm me much that the Sr his Lord had an intention to keepe that Corespondance wth my Master he mentioned in his Letter, and that in regarde of my setteinge Sayle that night for Saphie, I would leave the Expedition to receave them; wch I accordingly did, and by it gave a great dealle of Content to the Embasador and to those of the Castle, whoe thought that I left her of purpose to guarde their Vessells dureinge their unladeinge; wch supposision I did cherish in regarde it bore a further obligation from the Kinge of Moroco the Kinge. The Governor of ould Sally beinge not very willinge at first to part wth the Captives, our beinge hendred by some other impediment, stayd 4 days before the sendeinge off, of them, and he sent onely three, the fourth haveinge been redeemed a litle before our Comeinge by a Marchant of Plymouth, soe that it appeares that they still make Marchandize of his Maties subjects.

The 12 I sett sayle for Saphie haveinge stayd one day 12 June 1638
longer then I intended, proveinge Calm all that day. The 14 I landed the Embasador at Saphie, presently after my Comeinge to an Anchor, and the next morneinge all his retenue went ashore where araiveinge the Embasadr gave order to behead one Brelandine, an Andelowse, and the

chiefest of his followers, he standeinge by to see the Execution upon the strand, pretendeinge that he had spooken in England some words in derogation of the Empereur his Master; but it was thought by divers that this man was despatched out of privatt ends of his owne, leaste he should too freely have talked of the others behavior in England; for he was a Rational man, and of greater abilities then any others of his people. The 20th came in the Expedition w[th] the aforesaid three Captives.

25 June 1638 Munday the 25 there came downe from Moroco Alcayd Ally Martine, an English renegado w[th] Horses, Tents, and all other provision for Mr. Blake's goeinge upp to Moroco, the Moroco Embasad[r] haveinge stayd all that while at Saphie.

28 June 1638 The 28 they toke their Jorney upp togeither by Alcayd Ally Martine. I receaved a letter from the Kinge, wherein he gave me many thank's for the services I had don him at Sally, and that understandeinge by a letter from his Embasado[r] that I had order to serve him, w[th] those two shipp's against his rebells, he woud writt unto me more at large at the receipt of his Ma[tie] of Great Brittain's Letters w[h] Mr. Blake had.

The 28 day there arived in Saphie roade a small Franch ship of Deepe to trade. The 30 there arived alsoe a ship of London w[ch] had beene 3 monethes tradeinge upon that Coast.

July

The 2d there returned the Franch Shipp from Sally, wth had still left a great Cargaison of goods aboard. He came backe to make an End of putteinge off his goods wth the English factors, resident in Saphie. 2 July 1638

The 11th not receaveinge any order from Moroco I wrott to Alcayd Judar, the late Embasador in England; and likwise unto the Bashawe, wch is the chiefest Man in power under the Kinge, to desire them, that they would be pleased to hasten downe his Imperiall Maties Comands unto me, for that if his matie had any intencion to staie me upon his Coasts, it was high tyme I should receave his order, the Tyme of my Staie in those Partes, for my safe returninge home before winter, weareinge apase. 11 July 1638

The 14 I receaved a Letter from the Kinge wherein he gave me to understand, that in those Letters he had receaved from the Kinge my Master, he gave him Power to imploye me in his Service against the Rebells, and that wth in 2 or 3 days, he woud send me order to repaire wth his Matie Shipp's to Sally, where he himselfe would be in a short Tyme. 14 July 1638

This Letter was brought downe by one Alcayd Ramadam, whoe brought me money to refornish my selfe of those Victualls, I had lett the Embasadr have at Sally.

The 19th Mr. Blake came downe, and wth him Alcayd Ally Martine, the same that fetcht him up. By the Alcayde I receaved the King's Letter for my goeinge to Sally, the Contents whereof was that he himselfe would be in 19 July 1638



person there in a short Tyme, and gave me order to assist his people in the Castle in any theinge I could, and to ayde and proetect any boats or Vessells that came to relieve them, declaringe the Andelowses, and Hornachaires of Sally Rebells, but not sayeinge any theinge of the St.

Dureinge my aboade in Saphie Roade I had often Conferance wth. Alcayde Reamon, a Franch renegado and Governor of the Towne of Saphie, and likwise wth. our English Marchants wch. often came aboard, some of them haveinge live in ye Cuntry this 20 years, of whom divers Tymes occasionaly in discourse I did informe my selfe of theise three theings especially (viz.) the Trade, the Goverm.t, and the Extente of the Kings Dominions wh. he hath in present posesion.

First, for the Trade of the Cuntry, it stands thus. The vendable Comodities out of England theither, are Iron, both unwrought, and in Manufacture, as Fowlinge Peeces, Fire Lockes, Lances' Heads, and the like, and alsoe Lances, Staves, all wch. are the King's Commodities, he haveinge the prehencion of all that is imported and settes it at what rattes he please, usually six tymes as much as he payes. Other Commodities are Lynens of all sortes, and English Broade Clothes, and Jersies, alsoe doe went heere.

The Staples of Barbary are wexe, hides, Almonds, dates, and Salte Peeter wh. is made by the English at Moroco, and now of late by the Moores, in the Montaines, the English Marchants haveinge furnished them wth. Coppers and theings fitteinge for the Makinge of it, soe



that it is liekly that a good quantities will be heereafter yearely brought from thence. Gold is from thence freely exported, but it is out of a kinde of Necessities, the Cuntry not having sufficiant staple Commodities of their owne to wallwe the foraine Wores that they must make us of; and this Gold may rather be accompted a Treasure then a Commoditie in regard that the antient Supply from Gago wch was brought in by Cafells in Meeley Hametts days, grand father to this Kinge, is now lost by the Troubles of the State, since, that nowe they are faine to live of the oulde Stocke untill by a settle Peace, the prime Staple of the Cuntry wh antiently was Suger Caines, and Ingeniers for the Suger Works are nowe altogether destroyd, and are rather discoursed off then hoped forr.

The Customes of all his Portes are fermed by the English Company at a rente charge of about 6000£ amont and have sole power to have the refusall of all Commodities braught in by other Nations, and soe upon the Matter they have the wholle Trade in their hands. This privilige of the English would much advance the Companie trade if Sally weare once in the Kinge of Moroco's hands, for it is a place of as much went as any other, besides it beinge the onely Porte in all the Kingdome of Fez remaininge in the Moores hands, except Tituan, wch lyes sixe milles into the Land, and onely a small, shorte River wch goes unto it, wch makes it Incomodius for Trade; whereas Sally is a very good Harbour for Shipp's wch drawe not above 13 or 14 foote water, onely the Barr is

somewhat dangerous in winter Tyme, often alteringe after a Storme, but beinge over the Barr Shipps ride very safe and close to the Towne.

This Towne of Sally, or rather the two Townes of Sally, are situated on either side the mouth of the River, wch runs up not above 20 miles into the Cuntry. On the South Banke standes the New Towne and ye Castle. The Castle is very stronge, both by Nature and Arte, for it is builte on a Rocke over looking the Towne betweene it and the Sea, and is well fortified. On the Land side, both Towne and Castle are compased about wth stronge Walls, fitted at convenient distances wth watch Towers, and fowre large Gates wch have Ordinance planted on the topp of them. Wthin the Circuit of this Wall (wch is at the lest 4 milles) are many gardens and vineyards, that may make as I am informed above 200 Tunnes of Wine yearely. The oulde Towne is altogether inhabited by Berbers, the Antient People of those parts, but maynely fortified. On either side of the River close to the Townes Walls, is a very good grownde for Salt Pannes, where great quantities might be made, if the People were industrious, but for the present, they onely make as much as themselves spend, and doe serve the Cuntry wth in a days Jorny about them.

Secondly for the Govermt, ffundamantall Lawes— they have not any for all that I could learne, Noe man beinge propriatorye of any theinge other ways, then at the Kings Pleasure, whoe accordingly deputes his great Men to execute this his absolute Power wch is either by

Gramnige (wch is confisgatinge of Mens Goods) ore by beheading wthout any formall proces as it is us'd in Christendome.

Thirdly for his Dominions, the Kinge intytleth himselfe to a farr larger Territory then he is at present Master off, for upon a paticular inquirie, I found that of those fowre Kingdomes, Moroco, ffeze, Suz, and Tafilett, wch weare united in this Kings grand father, Muley Hamett, onely Moroco acknowledge this Kinge. ffez is usurp'd by Hamett, the Kinges Neger Brother, whoe posesed the Citty of ffez it selfe wth some parte of the Cuntry. The rest is in the hands of Side la Hache, the S^{t} of Ould Sally, and Side Ben Booker an other great S^{t}, whoe hath likwise the Kingdome of Tafilett. Suz is all together possesed by Side Ally, the S^{t} of the South. As for Shippeinge the Kinge hath noone, neither hath he any Ports ffitt to Harbor any unlesse that he could saye that he weare Master of Sally. A little Creeke he hath at a place called Gowaladie, wch of late hath beene fortified wth purpose to have made a Porte, but it doth not Answer their expectation.

Oualidia

The 23 at night haveinge Water and all other Necessaries aboard, and alsoe Mr. Blake whoe then intended to come for England wth us, I did sett Sayle for Sally, the winds off the Shore at N. N. E. and stoode away N. W.

23 July 1638

The 28 wee found our selves in the latitude of 33–27^{m} and some 40 leagues off of the Shore, where wee could not perceave any corrant.





August

2 August 1638

The 2d day about 5 in the Morninge wee fell wth the Land 2 leagues to the Northward of Mamora, at the same Tyme wee descryed three small Vessells, wch beinge afraide of us stood in for Mamora the Winde beinge at N. W. About 7 in the afternoone wee come to an Anchor in Sally roade where wee mett wth a Dutch Shipp newly arived there, wch told us that the 7 of July he came away from the Downs. The same night there came off unto us 3 small boats from the Castle of Sally, thinkinge wee had brought some Provision for them, 2 of them went in againe before day, and the other stay'd untill the Night followeinge, that he went in wth the King's Letters, wch did asshowre them of his suddene Comeinge. They made great signes of Joy at the receite of the Letters by shooteinge off many Gunnes. The Chiefest of those that came off in those boats weare Capt Hariro and Saban Rice whoe told us that the Seige still Continued. That the St was advanced neere Ffez to helpe his Sonne wh had beene Broken by Muley Hamett the Kinges Neger Brother. That the Hornachaires had incurred the Sts displeasur by their Letter, wch he had intercepted, where in they invited Muley Hamett aforesaid to their Relieve; and related at large howe that dureinge our absence at Saphie the Duke of Medina had sent a shipp of 700 tunnes and 3 small Barkes in her Company, haveinge in them all 600 Land Soldiers, wth a great Dealle of a Municion and Victualls deseigned as Succor to the Castle and accordeingly



SALLEE

FROM GUÉRIN'S ATLAS

theire Comander p'ferred to land them. Al Caserie wth the rest of the Andelowses weare very desireus to entertaine them, but could by noe Means induce Al Cayde Moratt to Condisions there unto; howebeit they desired of the Spaniards the Victualls and a Municion they had brought may be landed; wch the Spaniards was very unwillinge to grante, yet just as he was goeinge to sett Sayle, after he had stayed there ten days he sent them onely 500 Rintalls of Biskett, 40 Barrells of Powder, wth Shoot proportionably, and some other refreshinge, and soe depted wth all his men, but the Bread prouved soe badd that it did them litle good. The Comandor of those Soldiers was very inquisitive, hearinge I had beene at Sally, and that nowe I was at Saphie w^{h} was my designe in Comeinge upon that Coast; in fine he depted much distastinge their refusall of the Duke of Medina's offer of men. For it seemes, in their distresse before my first arivall Al Caserie had expressly sent to the Duke of Medina Advertiseinge him of the Exegent they weare in, and that now was the Tyme to draw the People to putt the Castle into his hands, beinge now out of hope to receaveinge any more Succor from the Kinge and in extreame Feare lest the Hornachaires should over come them, of whome they could expecte noe quarter; And wth out doubt had they arived in tyme, they must of force have rendred themselves into the Kinge of Spains hands.

The 5th Day there Came a Boate belongeinge to the Castle from Asamore wth other Letters from the Kinge 5 August 1638



concerninge his Comeinge, wherein he gave them hopes that he would be at the gates of Sally by the 15th of this moneth.

7 August 1638 The 7 a Boat came off from the Castle, and went in againe that Night followeinge, wth one of Mr. Blakes Servants to fetch some Ostrich Feathers wch he had order from the Kinge to take out of the Castle. There went in at the same tyme a Spanish Boate leaden wth provision out of Spaine.

10 August 1638 The 10th there came two boats more out of Spaine leaden wth pvisions to sell for their particular Gaines. The same day there came off a small boate from the ould Towne, wch braught the Dutch Cunsull wch came to speake wth the Master of the Dutch Shipp, and an English Marchant, a Franch Marchant, and an English Captive, bought before I came upon the Coast by the English Marchant. By them I had a Letter from one Prifort, whoe termes himselfe the English Cunsull of that part of Barbary, wherein he wrott unto me, that the Governor of the ould Towne did wonder that I had not sent my boat ashore to fetch fresh provision and that all theings weare there at my service, and that if I would but writt a Letter to the S^{r} (whoe was 3 Days Jorny from that Place) he would release 9 or 10 English Captives wch he had taken in the gettinge of the Towne of Tetuan; wch I did accordingly giveinge him Tankes for the 3 he had before released, and desireinge his favor for those he had in his Posesion, and that I would stay(d) in this Roade some Tyme,

hoppeinge he would send them me, I knoweinge that my Master did not soe much wallwe the expenses it should cost him by my Staie as he did the Libertie of soe many of his Subjects. This Letter I sent the 13th of this present by the same Boat that came off.

The 18 at Night a Boat came off from the Governor of the Castle, wherein he gave me Notice, that the same night there came into the Castle an Alarbie, wth a Letter from the Kinge to asshoure them of his speedie Comeinge, beinge but 3 days Jorny off, but this prouved but a Tricke, thinkinge I would have sent him ashore the Marchant of the Dutch Shipp, wch he most earnestly desired me to doe by his Letter under Pretence that he would buy all his Goods, for feare that he would sell them to his Enemies, but I did excuse myselfe for the not doeinge of it. 18 August 1638

The 20 there came another great Spanish Boate wth Letters from the Duke of Medina to the Governor and laden wth victualls, some sent as a Present by the Duke to the Governor. 20 August 1638

The same Daye a Boat came off from a Cove wheare the ould Towne used to keepe boates, wth a Letter from the Sr in Answere of myne, whereby he gave me to understand that upon the receipte of my Letter he had presently sent to Tytuan for those Captives I wrott unto him for to be sent unto me; and that until the receipt of my Letter he knew of noone he had in his Power, in regarde that he had but latly taken Tituan; and that he had given order to the Governor of old Sally that if I wonted any theinge,

that the Cuntry did afforde, I should be supply'd. The Letter is dated from his Campe two Days Jorney from Sally.

23 August 1638 The 23 there came a small Barke from Masagam laden wth Provision for the Beseiged, wch braught News that the Kinge had beene gon out of Moroco wth his Army above five weekes, and that he was gon into Ben Booker, aforesaid, Cuntry, wch he must bringe in Subjection before he can come to Sally. Uppon this News Al Cayd Moratt wch hath the chiefest comand in the Castle, seemed by his Letter unto me to be very much dejected, and seemed alsoe to entertaine Thoughts of rendreinge the Castle into the Kinge of Spaines Hands, if his Kinge did not come w^{th}in a short Tyme to relieve them; whereupon I wrott unto him, that I did approve exceedinge well his Resolution in putteinge it into the Christians Hands rather then into the Moores, whoe had soe often revolted against their Kinge in that Place. But on the other Side to put it into the Kinge of Spaines Possesion, I thought that it may prove dangerous for the Kinge of Moroco, he haveinge already soe many stronge Places in Barbary, wch may one Day inveite him to attempt the getteinge of the rest, but that it would be farr safer for the Kinge his Master to offer it to the Kinge of England, of whose love and Affection he could not make any Doubte, haveinge soe amply manifested the same in divers Ways, and especially in the sendeinge of these Shippes to Ayde him against his Rebells, and that if such a motion weare made unto his Matie by



SALLEE

FROM DAPPER'S BESCHREIBUNG VON AFRICA, AMSTERDAM, 1670

the Kinge of Moroco (if he did accepte of it) he would still afford his helpe to settle him in peace into his Dominions. In his Answeare he did wish that the Offer weare allready made, and accepted, for he litle hopped that the Kinge his Master could be able to keepe that place, except he had reduced the rest of his Rebells, and that he would propound it to the Kinge, and unto the Bashawe by his Letters wch he was instantly sendinge unto them, and that alsoe he made litle Doubte but it would be entertained, except that all theings went farr better then was expected. This Man is of great Power wth the Kinge, and accompted amongst the Moores a brave Souldier and a great statsman.

The 27 seeinge there was noe hope of the Kinges 27 August 1638
speedie Comeinge to Sally, and the Tyme he desired me to staye for him beinge expaired, I began to make my selfe ready to sett Sayle for to come away; the same day those of the Castle sent off divers Boats to unlode the aforesaid Barke of Masagam.

The 28 an other Barke came from Gowaledie leaden 28 August 1638
as the former, wth wheate, butter, oynons, and oyle sent Oualidia
likwise to relive the Castle. This last Barke braught Letters that the Kinge had beene gon out of Moroco wth his Armie, (wch consisted of 20 thousand Men) the 12th of this present, and that he had taken the Upper Waye thorough Ben Bookers Cuntry, beinge resolved to burne all his Cuntry if he did not come in to him, for that it was not Safe for him to leave soe potent an Enemy at his



Backe. They alsoe reported that the Bashawe was comeinge the Lower Waye alonge the Sea Side wth five or sixe thousen horses.

29 August 1638 The 29 the Masagam Barke beinge all unleaden Mr. Blake shipped himselfe into her for Masagam hopeinge to meete wth the Bashawe there about. About 12 of the Clocke the same Day the other Barke beinge alsoe unleaden, I did sett Sayle, for Cadiz to take in Ballaist and fresh Water, our Shipp's beinge soe light and fowle, that they would scarse feele their helme.

SEPTEMBER

1 Sept 1638 The first of September beinge Saturday, about 2 in the Afternoone, I came to an Anchor off of Cadiz, right against Rotta. At my Comeinge to an Anchor I sent my Boate ashore at Cadiz to aske leave of the Duke of Mecaye Generall of the Gallions, to take in Water and Ballaist, wch he seemed to grant very willingly, offeringe any theinge else the Cuntry did afforde.

3 Sept 1638 The 3d Day beinge Munday wee tooke in two Boats ladeinge of Water. The nexte Day wee did washe the Shipp. The Whensday wee toke in more Water and did expect some Ballaist, wch came not, the Boats wch wee had hyred to bringe it aboard beinge taken up for the Kinge of Spaines Service. This Day I went aboard the Admirall of the Gallions to visitt the Duke of Macaye, but he beinge ashore at Cadiz, I went there to him. He had at that present under his Comand 12 Gallions, and

NOTES

1. Capt. Robert Slingsbie (1611–61) was a cousin of Sir Henry Slingsby, the well-known royalist. He joined the navy at an early age, quickly rose to the post of captain, and after his return from Barbary was given command of a squadron in the Channel. This position he held until 1642 when he was imprisoned as a royalist. Two years later he served on a mission to Paris and Amsterdam, and upon the Restoration he was made a baronet and appointed comptroller of the navy. His "Discourse upon the Past and Present State of His Majesty's Navy" was reprinted in 1896.

2. Cap Artugall = Cape Ortegal.

3. Burleings = Barlenga Is., 60 miles N. of Cape da Roca.

4. St. Lucar is at the mouth of the Guadalquivir.

5. The king was Mahomet III, third son of Zidan (1608–28). Mahomet was called to the throne from prison in 1636, and proved to be a wise and able ruler. In 1638, however, his friendship for Europeans, English especially, caused a central Moroccan "saint" of great reputation to stir up the more fanatical of his subjects into revolt. During the next decade matters grew much worse, until in 1649 a family of sherifs from Tafīlālt were called in by the rebels, and usurped the throne as the Fīlāli dynasty. Fez

was lost to the Fīlālis in 1649, while Mahomet lived on for five years, with very little power.

6. Mamora = Mehediya, 40 m. N. of Salli.

7. Salli was, of course, the centre of the "Sallee Rovers" who were at the zenith of their power and notoriety in the mid 17th century. A great impetus was given them by the expulsion of the Moors, the "Andelowses," from Spain in 1610.

8. Saint El 'Ayâshi, or "Santo." He resented the king's intercourse with Europeans, and with a following of Dilâi Sanhâja Berbers made unsuccessful attacks on Mazagan, Laraiche, and Mamora. He was accepted as king from Taza to Tamsna, but was put to death by the Andalucian Moors. His reputation for holiness was such that his head was said to have recited verses of the Koran after being cut off, while during his life he accomplished the death of 7500 Christians.

